Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

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WILL EISENHOWER OFFER KREMLIN "PEACE" PACT?

(See Page 2)

Lay-Offs, Taft-Hartley Threat Show Need for Labor Party

Disguised Sales Tax Is Scheme Of Eisenhower

By Joseph Keller

Eisenhower is scheming to put over a general federal sales tax disguised as a manufacturers excise tax, he indicated Sept. 30. The General claimed he does not intend to ask for a sales tax at the retail level, but, as the Oct. 1 N. Y. Times emphasizes, he "left the door open" for "a general sales tax to be levied on manufacturers" which would be passed on to consumers in the price of the articles.

It has been previously reported by the Times and other leading newspapers that Eisenhower was preparing to introduce into Congress a general sales tax bill. The popular reaction to this report has been so hostile that Eisenhower is seeking to impose a sales tax in a form that he believes the public won't recognize.

AVOIDS POISON LABEL

Aside from avoiding the poison label, "sales tax," the type of manufacturers levy now contemplated by Eisenhower can be even more extortionate than a sales tax at the retail level. "A general manufacturers sales tax is in reality worse than a retail sales tax," according to a resolution passed by the CIO International Union of Electrical Workers convention on Oct. 1. It explains: "The manufacturers' sales tax is not only passed along to the consumer, but it is pyramided by the wholesaler and retailer."

The Administration and Congress are determined to shift still more of the tax burden onto the backs of the working people. Starting in January, the rich are getting big reductions in excess profits taxes, corporation and personal income taxes. The anticipated loss of $8 billion in federal revenue in the face of a large deficit has strengthened the capitalist government in its aim to dig deeper into the people's pockets and extract a larger tax share from the wage earners.

If Eisenhower's projected general excise tax is enacted it would come on top of an estimated $10 million of similar taxes, already being mulcted from the people, put into effect by the previous Democratic administration. "Actually, the public is already paying a national sales tax about as broad as any the Treasury is considering," says the Oct. 9 U.S. News and World Report. "People just don't recognize this present setup for what it is."

Kutcher Tells His Case to Barry Gray

James Kutcher, the legless veteran, announced in an interview on Barry Gray's midnight program over New York radio station WMCA Oct. 5 that his attorneys would file suit next week in the Federal District Court at Washington to recover his job. This makes the eleventh appeal since 1948 against his discharge from the Newark Veterans Administration in the government "loyalty" purge.

Urged by Gray to tell the story of his case "in his own way," Kutcher simply but dramatically reviewed his efforts over the past five years to get justice. He pointed out that his victimization was a direct consequence of the U.S. Attorney General's arbitrary inclusion of the Socialist Workers Party, to which he belonged, on the blacklist of "subversive" organizations.

Two weeks earlier, before interviewing David L. Weiss, SWP candidate for mayor, Barry Gray had read a smear letter from the station's vice-president noting that the SWP was on the Attorney General's blacklist. Kutcher made a telling exposure of this in connection with his own case. The Attorney General, he said, had not given any notification, specification of charges, or hearing to the SWP.

He reminded Gray that in 1951 six justices of the U.S. Supreme Court had censured the Attorney General for blacklisting groups without first affording them a hearing. Justice Burton wrote: "Under such circumstances his (the Attorney General's) own admissions render his designations patently arbitrary. The situation is comparable to one which would be created if the Attorney-General, under like circumstances, were to designate the American National, Red Cross as a Communist organization."

Justice Jackson stated: "To promulgate with force of law a conclusive finding of disloyalty, without hearing at some stage before such finding becomes final, is a denial of due process of law." Justice Black bluntly declared: "In my judgment the executive has no constitutional authority, **with or without a hearing**, officially to prepare and publish the lists."

Kutcher also announced publication Oct. 26 of the autobiographical account of his five-year civil rights fight. Price of "The Case of the Legless Veteran" will be $1. Royalties will help finance the next stages of his court action.

Gallery of Saints

Union Leaders Launch Campaign to Prepare For '54 Elections

By Art Preis

Labor leaders and unions have launched a highly vocal and energetic campaign in preparation for the 1954 Congressional elections. This campaign has the avowed aim of eliminating the reactionary Big Business control of Congress. It is inspired by two main fears:

(1) The growing threat of layoffs, a federal sales tax and other economic blows at the American workers; (2) the continuation of the Taft-Hartley Act and its intensified use as part of a stepped-up drive to shackle and, if possible, crush the union movement.

Leading union newspapers and gatherings from all parts of the labor movement are vigorously stressing the need for labor political action to combat these two major threats. Typical of the views expressed almost universally in labor's ranks are the editorial in the Oct. 1 issue of John L. Lewis' **United Mine Workers Journal** and the political action resolution adopted at the CIO Oil Workers International Union convention on Oct. 1 in Denver.

"Labor's program for getting rid of T-H oppression must begin at the voting booths in next year's Congressional election," states the UMW **Journal**. It adds: "It is just not in the cards for this Republican administration to adopt the role of a champion of organized labor. . .

"Labor voters, it must be emphasized hold the fate of T-H in their own hands when they go to the polls. Let them cast their ballots on the basis of the voting records. . ."

Thus, the UMW organ wants the workers to take political action against Taft-Hartley, advises that they can expect no good from the Republicans, but proposes simply the old formula of going by the "voting records" of the individual candidates. It offers nothing new and more effective to meet the acute political problems facing labor.

IF DEPRESSION STARTS

At the Oil Workers convention, CIO Political Action Committee Director Jack Kroll emphasized political action for 1954 in connection with the approach of depression. "If a depression starts rolling," he said, "I don't think these guys in Washington know how to stop it." In line with Kroll's speech, the delegates adopted a special resolution urging the OWIU members to prepare at once for the 1954 Congressional elections.

Here, as in the UMW statement and in virtually all the comments from labor sources in recent weeks, there is great emphasis on the need for political action, on the undesirability of letting Republicans get back in, on "preparation for '54." But there is not the iota of a suggestion for a more effective political policy than that of the past — voting for capitalist "friends of labor," Democrats or simply on the basis of the "record."

Granted that the Republicans are the open agents of Big Business, what is there in the record that assures us that if the Democrats got back into Congress labor will be substantially better off?

Let us take the example of

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San Francisco Candidates Get Warm Union Response

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 4 — Frank Barbaria and Frances James, Socialist Workers candidates for supervisors, met with a warm response last night when they appeared at meetings of locals of the Ship Scalers, Roofers, Sign Painters, Electricians and City Employees Unions.

At the Ship Scalers' meeting, Barbaria spoke against the war drive and the accompanying attack on the organized labor movement.

"In the course of Wall Street's drive toward war, the Democrats and Republicans have instituted a witch-hunt drive against our civil rights," he declared. "Begun by the Democrats and spearheaded since 1950 by McCarthy, the attack has been continued under Republicans. The ground has already been laid for an assault on the trade unions, the real target of the witch hunters."

The Socialist Workers candidate said that in office he would urge the unity of AFL, CIO and independent unions with minority-group organizations to strengthen the fight in defense of basic civil rights.

OPPOSE JIM CROW

He took a firm stand against Jim Crow, declaring, "I am unalterably opposed to the policy of racial segregation in housing that is now practised by the City Housing authorities. As supervisor, I would fight for the establishment of an FEPC, with full powers of enforcement, composed of minority and labor representatives."

After his talk, union members congratulated him on again entering the election lists with his socialist program. This is the sixth time in the last eight years that Barbaria has run for public office in San Francisco.

Frances James, reporting at a meeting of SWP campaigners held at campaign headquarters, said that the response to her appearances at union meetings and civic groups in the first weeks of the campaign had surpassed her expectations. "People at every meeting that I have spoken to have gone out of their way to express admiration for a candidate who dares to speak the truth and present a courageous program for working-class unity and working-class political action."

The Militant is playing an important role in the SWP campaign here. The candidates use it in their appearances at meetings and campaigners sell it to the audiences.

New Front Opened in War On Constitutional Rights

A new attack on the 5th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States is being organized by Attorney General Herbert Brownell. Last July the witch-hunters succeeded in getting the McCarran bill (S. 16), designed to circumvent the 5th Amendment, passed in a special night session of the Senate with the liberals standing aside. But the bill was later temporarily blocked in the House of Representatives. So a new front was opened in the war of the witch hunters on the Constitutional protection provided their intended victims.

Brownell has directed top departmental attorneys to "investigate" witnesses who have availed themselves of the rights guaranteed by the 5th Amendment. Paying lip service to the U.S. constitution as a "sacred document," Brownell plans to persecute anyone who dares to exercise the freedom it provides. "We intend to press for action in every possible field" against those who refuse to testify before grand juries and investigating committees. If the Constitution of the United States protects people who won't want to become stoolpigeons or "incriminate themselves" then the Attorney General will try to find other means of forcing them to talk.

NOT SURE

Brownell frankly told his assistants Sept. 30 that "he isn't sure where it will wind up," but he made it clear that no mere "sacred document" would stand in the way of the witch hunters.

One way of making a dead letter of the 5th Amendment was indicated in the stand taken by Wm. J. Jameson, President of the American Bar Association, who conceded that use of the 5th Amendment must be upheld, but then showed that he is really with the witch hunters by declaring that any lawyer, teacher or Government employee who used this Constitutional protection would thereby disqualify himself from the practice of his profession.

Witch-hunting investigations, harassing publicity, and efforts to deprive people of their livelihood will serve as pressure against use of the 5th Amendment. In this way, elementary liberties that have long been taken for granted by Americans will be destroyed.

SMEAR CAMPAIGN

The investigation of witnesses who use the 5th Amendment is accompanied by a witch-hunting publicity campaign to convince the public that refusal to testify is not just that, but also a confession of guilt. A September issue of **Look magazine** reports a survey of people who have availed themselves of the 5th Amendment. The article assumes that these people are guilty. The New York Board of Trustees, in enforcing the Feinberg law, is proceeding on the same assumption. Teachers who avail themselves of the 5th Amendment are threatened with dismissal unless they talk.

EAST GERMANS RESIST STALINIST 'NEW COURSE'

By Murry Weiss

The decisions of the East German Stalinist Party's Central Committee meeting of Sept. 17-19 are beginning to come to light. One thing is clear: If the Stalinists in their blind bureaucratic fumbling prepared and provoked the June 17 revolutionary whirlwind against their rule, they are today unable to find the magic formula for stilling it.

The new course was the central point under consideration at the recent meeting. What is this new course? It was promulgated in the Soviet Union after Malenkov's accession but before the June 17 uprising. According to the East German version at the time, the new course involved: (1) A turn toward greater emphasis on production of consumer goods. (2) Concessions to small capitalist proprietors in industry and agriculture. (3) Increased labor productivity to secure more abundant supply of consumer goods at cheaper prices. (4) Elimination of rationing. (5) Protection of the democratic rights of the masses and a curb on the despotic practices of the state.

A question arises: Why did the East German workers launch a revolution against a regime which proposed such a program? If we disregard the Stalinist answer that the East German industrial workers were the tools of American capitalism and its fascist hirelings, or the equally absurd capitalist "theory" that the East German workers "were fighting and dying for us," (N. Y. Times June 18) we come to the inescapable conclusion: **The conditions of the East German workers were intolerable and they had no faith whatsoever in the Stalinist new course. They decided to rely on their own strength.**

A second question: After the experience of June 16-17, what reality does the Stalinist new course have? Can we observe any improvement in the relations of the workers and the bureaucrats? Are any real concessions emerging from the tangle of promises? Let us see.

PIECK'S STATEMENT

Wilhelm Pieck, the aging figurehead President of the East German regime, says in the Oct. 2 issue of the Cominform paper, **For a Lasting Peace etc.**, "The main task of industry is . . . to reduce cost of production." The question is how? To this Pieck replies: "By raising productivity of labor through technical improvements, and better organization of labor on the basis of technically grounded calculations. **Socialist emulation is a decisive lever in the matter of raising productivity of labor."**

Genuine "socialist emulation," friendly rivalry between factories and groups of workers) is a hollow mockery when organized by the bureaucratic despots. It is speed-up, the very opposite of voluntary socialist emulation. The "main lever" for raising productivity is therefore not in the hands of the producers. Thus it is a monstrous lie to speak of it as a factor for improving the economic situation and the lot of the workers.

Pieck admits as much: "The safeguarding of the democratic

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President Uses T-H Club on Longshoremen

NEW YORK, Oct. 7 — Some 50,000 striking members of the independent International Longshoremen's Union returned to their jobs today in 12 east coast ports at the orders of the union officers, who had hastily bowed to an anti-strike injunction issued yesterday under the infamous Taft-Hartley Act by Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld at the request of Eisenhower.

This is Eisenhower's first use of the strikebreaking law since his inauguration last January and he will have to work hard to beat the record of Taft-Hartley injunctions established under Truman. He can claim, however, that he has not had as many opportunities as Truman to black-jack labor with the T-H law.

JOSEPH RYAN

ILA President Joseph "King" Ryan and his lieutenants had indicated in advance they would be only too willing to comply with an injunction since initiating and leading a strike is a strange and even alien experience for them. This was the first strike officially ordered by the ILA leaders in more than a decade. Their customary role has been that of keeping the longshore workers down with gangster terrorism, making sell-out contracts with the waterfront employers, and trying to quell "wild-cat" strikes that have flared up increasingly in recent years as the dock workers took matters into their own hands in an attempt to win decent wages and conditions.

In this case, Ryan and his henchmen were forced to strike in order to give the impression that they are fighting for the dock workers, who are being courted by the AFL which expelled the ILA on the grounds of Ryan's failure to rid it of gangster elements.

Prior to the strike, the old ILA officialdom had made a hasty and big climb-down in their demands put before the New York Shipping Association in hopes of getting a contract and staving off the bid of the new AFL union. Originally, they asked 50 cents more in hourly wage rates and 10 cents for a welfare fund. Within 24 hours after notification of their expulsion from the AFL, they scaled their demand down to 10 cents more on the wage scale —1½ cents more than the employers had offered — and three cents for welfare. But the employers, figuring they had the help of everyone from Eisenhower to the AFL bureaucrats, stuck tough. Ryan had to play militant or see his membership desert wholesale into the new AFL union.

DAVE BECK

Whatever Ryan's motivations,

(Continued on page 3)

Field Day for Witch Hunters In New York Public Schools

The New York public school system, like the rest of the educational system in America, is in a profound crisis. Teachers are terribly under-paid. Salaries are so low that a shortage of teachers exists. School buildings are in a state of decay. Necessary repairs are neglected and enough new buildings to meet the increase in school population aren't even contemplated.

To meet the pressure, school authorities are reducing sessions to half-day attendance, thereby depriving children of adequate educational opportunities.

But don't think the New York Board of Regents hasn't been busy. Since passage of the Feinberg law in 1949, they have been hard at work investigating the political opinions of the underpaid and overworked teachers. The capitalist press is full of praise for the Board's decision after four years of deliberation that the Communist Party is "subversive."

Teachers are no longer to be allowed to teach "according to their conscience," as in the past. If, in the opinion of a prejudiced Board of Regents, their lessons in arithmetic, spelling or any other subject contain advocacy of "force and violence" against the government, they will be dismissed.

The New York Times editorially withdrew its opposition to the Feinberg law Sept. 26 and praised the Board for its "scrupulous fairness" in administering the witch-hunt measure.

But many teachers, fortunately, take a different view of this thought-control drive in New York's schools. Shortly after the Board's ruling, members of the Teachers Union met and renewed their pledge to fight the Feinberg law and all attempts to destroy academic freedom.

Why We Stand For Basic Change

By Manuel Rodriguez

If you are looking for a politician to vote for who is recommended by the "best" people of the city — bankers, manufacturers, Tammany bosses, debutantes, prominent horse players and successful grafters — stop reading right now. The only ones who have a good word to say for the Socialist Workers Party are just plain working people.

A truck driver, an assembly line worker, an elevator operator, even an occasional bartender might tell you, "Those socialists of the SWP are just like us only they're got hold of an idea — they believe that if we all got together and stuck together we could change things so there wouldn't be any wars, depressions, slums or police brutality."

What working man or woman doesn't want a basic change like that? What Negro or Puerto Rican family in New York doesn't want a basic change? But what is a basic change if it isn't a revolution? That's exactly what we stand for.

Have you ever stopped to think that this country was born in revolution? We'd still have slavery in this country if it wasn't for Abolitionists of the Civil War period like John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. And who were they but American revolutionists!

We'll agree that they're considered "respectable" *now*. That's one of the strange things about revolutionists. They get "respectable" about a hundred years after they're dead. While they're alive they are hounded and persecuted and called "subversive." Those who profit by a system that keeps the majority working for the minority always attack the proponents of change as "dangerous radicals."

You see, it's very much like the time workers started organizing unions in this country. You couldn't pick up a paper without reading how "red" and "subversive" the unions were. It was pretty tough organizing in those days. You ran into the power of some big people in this country. They had the cops, the state militia, private armies of goons and scabs; they even had the churches lined up to preach against unions.

But that didn't stop the unions. After working men and women dared to fight for a change, the big job was done. At the latest count the unions had 17 million members.

The Socialist Workers Party thinks it's time for another change. It has been proved that the workers can't rely on the National Manufacturers Association to better their economic conditions. We think it has also been proved that the workers can't rely on the Democratic and Republican parties to solve their political problems. A few years from now this will be an accepted fact, but right now it's considered a radical idea.

The workers need a Labor Party to take up the fight against the Taft-Hartley union busters, the McCarthyite witch hunters, the cost-of-living boosters and the war-mongers.

We don't want to wait 20 years for someone to expose the fact that World War III was fought for Wall Street's profits and that's why the world was devastated by atomic war.

After World War I, President Wilson admitted that the war was fought for business reasons. We found out that the slogan "a war to end all wars" was a fake.

And then we were told that we were fighting to get rid of fascist dictators in World War II. But now the Big Business politicians are making deals with every fascist and would-be fascist dictator in the world.

Take a look at the cartoon on the front page. Isn't it the truth? What a gallery of "democratic" heroes they've got us lined up with. Franco, Syngman Rhee, the Greek king, Chiang Kai-shek, Adenauer — what a gang of anti-labor cutthroats. They ought to be members of a Butchers Association. These are the people who claim to represent the "free world" and who want us to fight another war.

You might ask, "What about Russia?" The truth is that Russia doesn't threaten us. The propaganda that we're about to be attacked is straight from the baloney factory. The dictators in the Kremlin will not be overthrown by an American expeditionary force but by the people they are oppressing. If the American army brass ever occupy the USSR the first thing they'll try to do is make a deal with the Stalinists to keep the people down for the new master — Wall Street.

The workers of East Germany and Eastern Europe are going to take care of the Stalinists themselves. The best thing we can do to help them is keep our armies out of there. Let's take care of our own would-be tyrants.

So if you're not frightened by the idea of change, if you don't expect to marry the boss's daughter or inherit a million dollars, get in touch with us. Join with other people who want to fight for a decent world for ourselves and for our kids to grow up in.

All you've go to do is call Algonquin 5-7852 or write to 116 University Pl., New York 3, New York.

Will Eisenhower Offer the Kremlin a "Peace" Pact?

By Joseph Hansen
(Seventh of a series.)

In the Jan. 12 Militant, in an article written several weeks before Eisenhower took office, I called attention to the fact that the "logic of the international situation . . . calls for a turn in the diplomacy of the State Department."

Having inherited a bad diplomatic situation from the Truman administration, one of the problems facing the new Eisenhower regime, I said, was how to change this — to wipe out the impression "that Washington wants war" and to "appear in the international arena as the advocate and champion of peace."

Gen. Eisenhower, I observed, "in hastening the preparations for war will certainly raise the defensive slogan of peace . . . and may well go quite far in 'peace' gestures." Hitler himself, I noted, had found it advisable to follow such a policy in getting ready for World War II.

Dulles' main course up to now as Secretary of State might seem to have shown this analysis to be wrong. The Stalinists in particular paint Dulles as the main villain in the Eisenhower administration whose principal concern is rattling the saber. And if we were to let the headlines impress us too much, we might feel compelled to say that the diplomacy of Dulles is nothing but a simple continuation of the diplomacy bequeathed to him by Dean Acheson; namely, the brass-knuckles - and - blackjack attitude associated with the Korean war.

It is quite true that Dulles has deliberately contributed to this impression. After the Republican election campaign picturing the State Department as under the influence of "Communist spies," he could not afford for a time to engage in diplomacy that might appear "soft." Moreover, he is under compulsion to convince the American people of the inevitability and justice of a war on the Soviet Union. That requires warmongering and inflammatory incidents and fear propaganda.

But this is only one side of the street. The other side must be worked too. It is necessary to create the illusion that "the enemy" is the aggressor and

CHURCHILL

"our side" the peace-lover. Otherwise it is not possible to imbue people with even a semblance of feeling that the war they are asked to fight is morally right. And of course among the allied powers, where the people are war-weary and already convinced in large numbers that only socialism offers a way out, the capitalist rulers feel that such a turn by the State Department is imperative.

The evidence now indicates that the top councils of the Eisenhower administration feel such a shift must be attempted.

At the beginning of September, the well-informed correspondent of the **Christian Science Monitor,** Joseph C. Harsch, observed a "curious dualism" in Eisenhower's foreign policy. It has been reported, he said Sept. 3, that the Dulles - Lodge team "seriously contemplates the possibility that the Korean peace conference will lead to the admission of Communist China to membership in the United Nations." "On the surface this would sound almost incredible," yet Harsch offered as evidence "the actual record" in the Far East where instead of widening the war, as many expected when Eisenhower took office, Dulles actually followed a policy of "disengagement," leading to the Korean truce.

Five days later, this same correspondent reported that "German and British and other diplomats are giving their first attention to ways and means of reassuring Moscow that it can become more 'secure' through a negotiated settlement with the West. . ." This would involve among other things withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Germany. In return for this, the diplomats "are prepared to pay a substantial price. . ."

Harsch recognized that "to American ears" the "very idea of security for Soviet Russia sounds either fantastic or nonsensical." However, far more influential figures than the **Monitor's** correspondent seem to consider such a diplomatic move neither fantastic nor nonsensical.

CHURCHILL'S PROPOSAL

On May 11, British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill suggested that the ideas contained in the Locarno Treaty might well be applied today to guarantee the present frontiers of Europe and thus ease the anxiety of the Kremlin about the aggressive intentions of the western powers.

The Locarno Treaty of 1925 was essentially a promise by England to help France if she were attacked by Germany or to help Germany if she were attacked by France. In the present situation a new edition of Locarno would mean a promise to come to the defense of the Soviet Union in the event Germany launched another invasion on Russian soil. **Such a pact would, of course, have about as much value in preventing World War III as the Locarno Treaty had in preventing World War II.**

Churchill's proposal did not seem to meet with any response in Washington at the time. But this may be ascribable to an accidental gap in Anglo-American team work due to the temporary removal of Churchill and Anthony Eden from public activity, and the illness and death of Senator Taft. (Churchill suffered a stroke and Eden underwent a serious operation.)

Then Stevenson returned from his world tour. On Sept. 15 he urged Eisenhower to take the initiative in new peace talks that would consider disarmament and "durable assurances" for the Soviet Union of "non-aggression." This statement was in effect a political announcement that the Democrats would support Eisenhower in any moves along these lines. **What is especially significant is that such a diplomatic demarche (change of direction) would mark an about-face from the policy followed by Truman.**

Two days later, Dulles followed up with an important speech in the United Nations. The core of it was: "The Russian people, like the French people have not forgotten what their nation suffered from Hitlerite Germany during the Second World War. They expect, and they are entitled to, assurance against a repetition of such events."

As if to demonstratively emphasize that bipartisan agreement had been reached on this line of diplomacy, Eisenhower arranged to have Stevenson "brief" him on his world tour. Stevenson told the press Oct. 1 that he had advised Eisenhower to meet Soviet fears of military encirclement by "guarantees that they have nothing to fear from us. It would certainly clarify the atmosphere somewhat if the guarantees were offered and rejected." In response Eisenhower told Stevenson he was giving careful consideration to the proposal.

Following Dulles' UN appearance, capitalist statesmen took up the theme in a series of declarations. Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs assured the Soviet Union Sept. 23 that the West had no plans to undermine the security of the Communist part of the world. Selwyn Lloyd, Britain's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, on the following day "arrayed Britain beside the United States and Canada in an effort to reassure the Kremlin. . ." On Sept. 25, Maurice Schumann, France's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, likewise assured Moscow that the West was willing to consider plans for guaranteeing Europe's present borders. And on Sept. 28, Churchill indicated that he favors a Big Four Meeting.

Dean Acheson came out of retirement to say Oct. 1 that negotiation with the Soviet Union "is possible, is desirable, and may — but only may — be productive."

Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Under Secretary of State, reputed to be especially close to Eisenhower, said Oct. 2 that the State Department has under active consideration a non-aggression pact between the West and the Soviet Union.

How have these moves been interpreted in the capitalist press? Here are some typical reactions:

Representing liberal opinion, the **New Republic** said Sept. 28: "All signs point to a meeting of the leaders of Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the U.S."

The conservative **Business Week** said Oct. 3: "For the first time since the start of the cold war, world events have reached a stage where there's a possibility of a negotiated settlement between East and West."

And finally, the **N. Y. Times'** which is the voice of authority for many editorial offices, said Oct. 4: "American thinking has taken the direction of offering the Communists 're-assurances' — not only by conciliatory words but concretely in the form of non-aggression pacts, both in Germany and Korea. . . The reasoning is that if the Russians will agree to non-aggression pacts, then real negotiations can take place and a settlement may follow. If they do not accept them, then all their charges of 'aggressive intent' on the part of the U.S. will be exposed as a sham and a stalling tactic. Moreover, any Soviet refusal to the U.S. proposals, it is held, will at least have the positive advantages of demonstrating that it is not the U.S. that is inflexible; of uniting the West, and of raising American prestige in the neutral Asian countries."

Mayoralty Candidate's Reply on Soviet Union

Didn't You Slander The Soviet Union?

Mr. David L. Weiss,
SWP Candidate for
Mayor of New York

Dear Mr. Weiss,

May I congratulate you on the way you handled yourself on the Barry Gray program Tuesday night. You certainly made a jackass out of Barry Gray, who made himself as nasty as possible. It was laughable how the often-frustrated Barry Gray displayed his ignorance by angrily uttering meaningless gibberish.

I think all progressive-minded listeners appreciated your remarks favoring socialism. It is rare indeed to hear an attack on capitalism on the capitalist-dominated radio. It comes like a breath of fresh air.

I can only lament the fact that your party finds it necessary to slander the Soviet Union on one issue or another (this time on bureaucracy in government). You only play into the hands of the ruling class and succeed in confusing the public. I think you will agree that red-baiting does not do this country any good.

Therefore I urge you to continue your attack on capitalism and its foreign policy and let the bourgeois press do the red-baiting.

Respectfully yours,
E. K.
Brooklyn

-- In Reply

Dear Mr. K.,

Thank you for your warm letter congratulating my broadcast on the Barry Gray program. On one point, however, I think you are somewhat inconsistent. On the one hand you express your enthusiastic appreciation for my remarks "favoring socialism" and my "attack on capitalism on the capitalist - dominated radio." On the other hand you charge me with "red-baiting" and "slander" of the Soviet Union because of my opposition to the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

I think you will recall my stating over the air that in spite of the SWP's opposition to the bureaucracy, we defend the nationalized and planned economy of the Soviet Union. I also opposed the war preparations and war program of American Big Business. You certainly know that this war program is aimed at the New China, the Soviet Union and the revolutionary workers, peasants and oppressed peoples everywhere.

Is it not clear then that the Socialist Workers Party not only fights for socialism and against capitalism but specifically defends the Soviet Union, China, Korea, Indo-China, etc., against the war plans of Wall Street?

Your charge of "red-baiting" and "slander" then, is based solely on our opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. Now unless our criticisms of the bureaucracy are untrue, this opposition cannot be called "slander." If our criticisms of the Stalinist bureaucracy are true, then it is not "slander" but our duty to state this truth.

Let me give you an example. For many years the East Coast longshore union has suffered under the rule of a corrupt bureaucracy. It was the duty of every union man to help the longshoremen in their struggle to replace Ryan and his gang with an honest, democratic leadership. To take this stand did not make anyone a "slanderer" or enemy of the union, although Ryan and his supporters may have held that view.

That stand is analogous to our position on the Soviet Union. When the workers in the Soviet Union succeed in replacing the present bureaucracy with a genuinely Leninist leadership that bases itself upon workers' democracy and proletarian internationalism, then the Soviet Union will win the support of many more millions of workers throughout the world who have turned away from it today because of the crimes of Stalinism.

I would like to meet you. Please feel free to visit our weekly forum on Friday evening at the Militant Hall, 116 University Place, where we can discuss this important question further.

Sincerely yours,
David L. Weiss

Letters from Readers

Questions Demand To Nationalize War Industries

Editor:

I would like to start off by saying that I think the **Militant** has been improving over the last period. Particularly significant in my opinion: Joe Hansen's article on What Audience is Dulles' Propaganda Aimed At? — John G. Wright's article on Iran, Harry Ring's comments on Kutcher and his book, and of course Reba Aubrey's review on the chimpanzees.

There is an article in the Sept. 21 issue on Wilson's GM getting the 200-million-dollar tank order. It ends up with the demand that the war industries be nationalized and operated under workers' control. To my knowledge this is the first time that such a demand has appeared in the **Militant.**

It seems to me that this slogan has implicit in it support of the war — the war just shouldn't be ridden with graft — it should be efficient and fair. This slurs over our fundamental position of no support to the war.

This demand, along with one condemning conscription of manpower without conscription of wealth, was the main slogan advanced by the Canadian Commonwealth Federation during its pacifist anti-war period. Of course, the fact that this slogan was one used by a reformist party as it went into the last war is in and of itself not sufficient to condemn it — but I think it is sufficient to give us an uneasy feeling about it.

Incidentally the CCF used it as a sop to those deluded workers who thought the munition makers are the cause of war — the merchants of death, who arm the nations and then provoke the outbreak, sitting back, raking in the gold. These workers had the idea that if the people only controlled the munitions plants and took the profit out of war there would be no war.

As I see it the **Militant** in question says the militarization of America is OK but we want new homes and school class rooms **too.** I don't think it is revolutionary and in the spirit of the transitional demands but reformist and class collaborationist. What do you think?

Paul Kane
Toronto, Ontario

The **Militant** has consistently advocated nationalization of war industries. We agree with Trotsky's proposal on this question stated in the pamphlet, **Founding Conference:** "War is a gigantic commercial enterprise, especially for the war industry. The '60 families' are therefore first-line patriots and the chief provocateurs of war. **Workers control of war industries** is the first step in the struggle against the 'manufacturers' of war. To the slogan of the reformists: **a tax on military profits,** we counterpose the slogans: **confiscation of military profit** and **expropriation of the traffickers in war industries."**

The questions you raise are of great interest and importance and deserve considerable discussion. For the present we will deal with only a few points:

(1) The demand raised by the **Militant** on war industries is distinguished from the reformists and pacifists by its anti-capitalist character. When the reformists call for nationalization they mean management of industry by the capitalist government with capitalist profit and ownership intact. We mean expropriation of the capitalists and workers control over the management.

(2) Our demands in general base themselves on the progressive aspirations of the workers, including the desire to get rid of profiteering in the war industries. But we go further to show how these progressive aspirations can become the starting point for struggles that logically lead to the abolition of capitalism.

(3) The **Militant's** demands are linked with the central slogan of a Workers and Farmers government and aim at furthering this key proposal. The reformists and pacifists single out a demand, present it as a cure-all instead of a partial step, and do not challenge the political power of the capitalists. Thereby they reveal that they are only reformists and pacifists and not revolutionary socialists. — **Editor**

A Means or End?

Editor:

Since I renewed my subscription, you probably assume I enjoy and gain a great deal from the paper. The **Militant** is not only the most sincere paper I've seen but outspoken as well. I've come to look to the **Militant** for an authentic **source** and **interpretation** of the news.

My first acquaintances with leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were Myra Tanner Weiss and Farrell Dobbs, then on their Presidential campaign tours. Later I got to know the San Francisco and Oakland **Militant** supporters. All are honest to the core.

My question to you is this: Does the SWP see only that the present material injustices should be rectified through socialism? Or, do you visualize material comfort, under socialism, as the **means** toward the end? If you see it as the **means,** I agree with you, since it is evident that people with all the material comforts alone are often utterly contemptible and lethargic.

But I would disagree with you if you dogmatically insisted that "why, just gratify everyone's basic needs and everything will then be as perfect as possible."

Can you perhaps run something in the **Militant** along this line, i.e., of the need for a society (socialist) in which peace is not the **end in itself,** but the **means** for society to provide every person with the freedom to mature, to develop to his fullest extent every aspiration and every talent he feels is most valuable to himself and society?

E. L.
Berkeley, Calif.

Tells About Poverty South of the Border

Editor:

I occasionally go into Mexico. The poverty is appalling. Within seven miles across the border a big cattle company has held the land for many years.

Under new Mexican laws the lease of this company has been declared null and void and the land was divided among the poor people.

There is now a big legal battle going on and I guess the State Department and Mr. Dulles will be stepping in and yelling "red" if the big American company doesn't win.

Sometimes I think that all this country is becoming is an exploiter of other people and a policeman for their ruling class.

I traveled for 13 months in central America and returned a few years ago. I was down in Honduras and I'll give you an idea of the cost of living there. Eggs (large), 12c. a dozen; fruit, (bananas, oranges, grapefruit guavas, pineapple, berries) ½c. a pound; coffee, 5c. a pound; sugar, 2c. a pound; beans, 2c. a pound; corn, 1c. a pound; meat, 5c. a pound.

I paid 25c. a day for my board while driving 165 feet of tunnel.

I see no freedom in the USA. The debt as you know does not represent freedom and our sons will be used as gun fodder for the U.S. ruling class as in the past only much worse.

B. R.
Arizona

Statement of the Ownership, Management, and Circulation required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) of The Militant published weekly at New York, N.Y., for October 1, 1953.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, The Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Place, New York 3; Editor, George Breitman, 116 University Place, New York 3; Managing Editor, George Breitman, 116 University Place, New York 3; Business Manager, Joseph Hansen, 116 University Place, New York 3.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) The Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Place, New York 3; Farrell Dobbs, 116 University Place, New York 3; Joseph Hansen, 116 University Place, New York 3.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more or total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semi-weekly, and tri-weekly newspapers only.) 3,337.

Joseph Hansen, business manager.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1953.

REBA G. HANSEN
(Seal)
My commission expires March 30, 1954.

NATIONAL FUND DRIVE TOTAL REACHES $15,760

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager

Contributions to the $18,000 Party-Building and Publication Fund this week totaled $267. The scoreboard, computed on the basis of receipts through Oct. 7, shows a total of $15,760 or 88% of the national quota

Cleveland went over the top this week to score 101%. **Jean Simon** says: "It was a tough fight, but we made it."

Chicago fulfilled its quota over a month ago, but didn't call it quits with just that achievement. **Hilda Smith** writes: "Enclosed is $46 check on the Fund. This makes us an even $1,700 and 113%. And there is a little more to collect from a sympathizer."

Youngstown made a $43 gain and is now within shooting distance of its goal.

New York contributed $104.50 this week and **San Francisco** sent in $40.

Socialist Workers Party supporters in the **South** sent in another $5 and **E. A.,** a friend in **Birds Landing, Calif.,** contributed $1 "for the Fund." He says, "Keep up the good work."

(See Scoreboard: Page 3)

NEW YORK
Friday Night Socialist Forum
presents a talk on
The Catastrophe of British Capitalism
Report and analysis of the British Labor Party conference
Speaker:
Harry Frankel
Fri., Oct. 16, 8 P.M.
Militant Hall
116 University Place
(near Union Square)
Questions, Discussion, Refreshments
Contribution 25 Cents

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agents in many areas have already laid plans for fall and winter sales of the **Militant.** First results indicate an encouraging response in door-to-door work and street sales.

George Fleming reports a good sale by six comrades in a **Seattle** neighborhood where they went to acquaint people with the paper and invite them to a **Militant** forum. He writes, "We intend to follow this up for the next two Sundays revisiting those to whom we've already sold and knocking on new doors to make new friends. We sold 31 **Militants** in all this Sunday. **Ann,** our new friend here, was the star of the day with seven sales to her credit."

Philadelphia Literature Agent **Clara Raymond** also reports the sale last Sunday of 15 copies. A number of new friends were made. Another sale was scheduled by the comrades for the following week.

Minneapolis sends in subs to the **Militant** and **Fourth International. Helen Sherman** writes, "**Harry** brought in the new one-year sub from a young packing-house worker. Both he and his wife expressed agreement with many of our ideas and were eager to read the **Militant.** The one - year renewal to the paper was obtained from a railroad worker, a leader in his union. He is one of the many new readers to the paper contacted during the last **Militant** campaign.

"**Bill C.** turned in the new one-year sub to **Fourth International** for a young worker-student who has been reading the **Militant** for some time and has become seriously interested in socialist ideas and program.

"Single copy sales have picked up too. We hope to increase the bundle soon. By the way, we hope Reba Aubrey continues writing for the paper. It is just wonderful how she can put a story together and put it across. Just what the **Militant** needs!"

Los Angeles writes to double their **Militant** bundle order. A campaign is beginning to expand the circulation of the paper, reports **Tom Carey.**

New York Literature Agent **Murray Forbes** reports sales at two public meetings last Sunday. "Both were Stalinist - sponsored meetings. One at the Hotel Diplomat was called to fight the McCarran Act. **Johnny T.** and **Berta Z.** attended with leaflets announcing our Friday night forum and **Militants.** Berta sold eight copies.

"In the evening **Bernie, Pauline, Manny** and **Donald** went to another meeting at Carnegie Hall, a peace rally. Five **Militants** were sold. We are planning more sales in the coming weeks at union meetings, schools, discussion forums, rallies and at street meetings during the election campaign."

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Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send $1.50 for six months subscription or $3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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Vol. XVII - No. 41 Monday, October 12, 1953

Choice We Face -- Socialism or H-Bomb

Is the capitalist system going to last forever? That's what the paid propagandists of capitalism would have us believe. But why should this be so? Other systems came and went. We've had slavery, feudalism, Asiatic despotism; a long time ago we had primitive communism. All these systems of society were born, grew to maturity and then died. It's true that some of these societies didn't leave willingly. There was some scuffling. Tyrants tried to perpetuate a dying order and keep the privileges of the ruling few, but they were always vanquished in the end.

Why should things be different with capitalism? What's so special about capitalism that it should last forever? There are now tens of millions of people in the world who hate capitalism and are trying to destroy it. This is not due to socialist propaganda alone. When it comes to propaganda the capitalists spend more on that than the socialists could ever dream of doing. The tens of millions of people in every corner of the world who have become anti-capitalist did so as a result of bitter experience.

Capitalism became an unbearable nightmare to them. It meant starvation, war, landlessness, white supremacy, fascism, depressions, toil and misery. It became impossible for them to endure present conditions or see a decent future under the rule of the capitalists.

Capitalism has come to mean fear and insecurity to the majority of people on this planet. Over us hangs the dreaded H-bomb. It hangs by a slender thread and the scissors are in the hands of profit-drunk, empire-building, capitalist madmen. It is no longer a question of the superiority of socialism over capitalism — as a theoretical argument. It is a question of either socialism or the destruction of the human race.

Is capitalism really necessary in the United States? Just think. We have the greatest industrial capacity of any country in the World. We have the most highly skilled labor force. Our natural resources are among the richest on earth. We have now tapped atomic energy, that fabulous source of power.

Obviously we have all the material means to enjoy a standard of living far higher than anything ever seen. It is necessary only to break the stranglehold of the rule of 60 billionaire families, that "informal, invisible, shadowy" Government of Money, integrate industry under a Workers and Farmers Government, set nationwide production goals in accordance with the people's needs and — go forward!

What miracles of production will then be possible! Imagine the food, clothing, houses, automobiles, T.V. sets, radios, refrigerators, civilian planes, all the modern conveniences required for good living that we can turn out! To what heights we can expand industry! Picture our grimy, tenement-cluttered urban areas turned into modern, beautiful cities, filled with parks, clean and shining in the sun!

That is only the beginning. The work week can be shortened as more and more machines take over the burden of labor. Vacations can be lengthened. Workers can retire young enough to enjoy years of leisure. With life-time security guaranteed — an ample living from cradle to grave — think how free and joyous life will become! Everyone will be able to develop his talents to the fullest, to contribute his best to the world.

Socialism is the only road leading away from poverty, inflation, unemployment, fascism, and the threat of an H-bomb war — all the worldwide scourges of decaying capitalism. Socialism can save us from capitalist barbarism and bring us enduring peace and plenty. The most courageous workers, those capable of the greatest sacrifices, those intelligent enough to see the task and endowed with the will to carry it out, must take the lead. That is our historic responsibility. When future ages look back at this time, they will judge our generation by the way it responded to this grave obligation.

Let Labor Prepare

Summing up the prospects for the U.S. capitalist economy, the **U.S. News and World Report** of last Aug. 7 concluded: "The only place it has to go is down."

Deprived of the narcotic stimulus of the Korean War, the American profit system has developed the jitters. Last week **The Militant** detailed many basic factors pointing to the possibility of a serious downturn. We cited lowered production schedules in key industries like steel, auto, lumber, construction, farm machinery; a sharp reduction in planned capital expansion; declining income of workers and farmers; rising unemployment and elimination of overtime pay.

With all these ominous signs, it would be foolish for organized labor to accept the reassurances of the corporation executives and their government stooges that we have nothing to fear but a "mild recession" or a "healthy readjustment." It may turn out that way, for a short time perhaps, but can labor afford to take a chance and find itself engulfed in a full-scale depression, with ten or 15 million unemployed, before it takes action? Even a "mild recession," we are told, will mean five to seven million jobless.

Both the AFL and CIO have given ample indication that a serious economic crisis would come as no surprise to them. The CIO United Automobile Workers has projected a Conference on Unemployment in Washington on Dec. 6 and 7. The recent AFL convention went on record demanding a reduction of the work-week in industries covered by the Wage-Hour Law from 40 to 35 hours with no loss of take-home pay.

Both these actions are very good, so far as they go, but they only nibble at the issue. What is required is a full mass mobilization of all organized labor in united action, on the economic and political fields, to fight from here on in for a rounded far-reaching program to protect the American working class from the ravages of depression. Such a mobilization can be best achieved through a United Congress of Labor, to be held at the very doorstep of Congress in Washington, of rank and file delegates from every local union in the land.

A Congress of Labor could advance not only a program to meet unemployment, including such measures as the reduced work week with no cut in weekly pay, but provide the indispensable political weapon to ensure its realization — a Labor Party to put labor men in power in Washington. Under the impact of the impending economic blows, the American working people will heartily embrace such a party.

Some Questions About the Franco Deal

Despite the unanimous disapproval of the American trade-union movement, the overwhelming opposition of a majority of people in the United States, and the revulsion of the whole world labor and anti-fascist movement, the State Department has made a deal with the hated fascist dictator Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

The public deal is bad enough. But obviously there is a secret deal as well. **U.S. News and World Report** of Oct. 9 says, "Questioners are told, unofficially, that important matters are covered in unpublished agreements."

We would like to pose some questions to the State Department, unofficially of course, about the secret deal with Franco:

What targets are being selected for atom-bombing from the air-bases to be established in this fascist fortress? Specifically, if the workers of France, Germany, Italy, etc., or the people of Asia continue to develop their revolutions against capitalism, will their cities be bombed?

Is there a clause in the secret deal which guarantees Franco's security from the revolution of the Spanish people in return for the air bases?

Is there a clause stipulating that the United States will help Franco hound Spanish anti-fascist refugees abroad and cooperate with Franco's terror against the anti-fascist underground?

Is there a clause which defines what the State Department's attitude will be in the event of another general strike or uprising by Spanish labor? Does the deal provide for the use of American equipment by the Spanish fascists to break strikes and shoot down workers?

Does the State Department regard Franco as the legitimate ruler of Spain despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Spanish people voted for a government which the fascists overthrew by force and violence with the help of Hitler and Mussolini?

Will criticism of Franco in the United States now constitute a "subversive" act making the critic eligible for the Attorney General's black-list?

Has Franco included in the secret deal provisions for the "screening" of all American personnel going to Spain with the aim of eliminating all those who have doubts about his "democratic" regime?

And one last question: Would the State Department dare to submit its deal with Franco (the open or the secret edition) to a vote of the American people?

GM's Fable About the Bees

By Reba Aubrey

Bees have fascinated man since ancient times. Poets, philosophers, historians and naturalists have studied and written about them. Even Aristotle wrote a treatise on their ways. And now General Motors makes its modest contribution to the lore about these industrious insects.

"We Can Learn A Lot From The Bees" is distributed as a public service by General Motors Information Rack Service to "General Motors Men and Women." When anything is "for free" from GM, even so much as an 11-page pamphlet, you can be sure it's aim is to point up the moral that what's good for General Motors is good for America.

Even if all you know about a bee is that it stings, you feel sure on finishing this excursion into science that in attempting to show a "startling similarity" between a beehive and a GM plant, the pamphlet makes some very strange comparisons.

The author wants to know "If you'd like to become the owner of a buzzing business." All you have to do is follow the example of one Mr. Camp, who not only "works" for a living but — as a sideline —owns a "factory," his "employees" now numbering in the millions, even though they are "just ordinary honey bees."

Assuming that most people would like to become factory owners, General Motors points out some of the problems that come up in acquiring one. For instance, there's "the matter of capital. There are three ways of introducing capital into a new business venture. You can use your own savings; you can borrow from banks, or you can invite others to risk their money by buying stock."

Since this "business venture" happens to be a hive of bees, you can probably get started "out of your own savings" — all you need is $5.50 to pay the mailman for a package of the insects; $5 for a box to put them in, and you're a factory owner.

Like any other business tycoon, including Mr. Camp, you'll run into "labor troubles," as the pamphlet delicately puts it. "His business was expanding, but the workers weren't satisfied. Like men, bees want good working conditions. Their requirements are somewhat more easily met, however. All bees want is plenty of room in which to work."

(I checked this, and the pamphlet is quite right. If bees don't get the conditions they want, they gather in a belligerent swarm, stage a walk-out on the owner, and in their amazingly intelligent way start up a new honey factory of their own, running it under management of the worker bees.)

Mr. Camp met the threat of such an unpleasant occurrence by digging into "his reserve capital" and buying "more hives," which "was just about the end of his labor difficulties." Mr. Camp, as you can see, was a lot readier than most factory owners to meet the just demands of his workers.

Mr. Camp didn't have to worry about hiring, firing or "job placement," because "bees do a pretty good job of policing their own activities." And anyway, "bees are born to their individual jobs." **At this point the author probably spent a few minutes daydreaming about the possibilities of job-typing GM workers the way bees do. Feed some of the up-and-coming larvae special nectar and in 25 days get a batch of tool-and-die makers. Feed others on a coarser diet of pollen and honey and in only 21 days get production workers.**

Beekeeper?

C. E. WILSON, former Pres. General Motors, now Sec. of Defense in Eisenhower's cabinet, made headlines when he told Senate questioners, 'What's good for GM is good for the country.'

"After hatching, a worker bee serves a two-weeks 'apprenticeship,' during which he does nothing but housework . . . carrying out dead bees, cleaning combs, feeding larvae and helping with the evaporation of honey. . . **If** he makes good, he can go out then and gather nectar. If not, he isn't just handed a pink slip, his hat and coat and shown to the door. He is executed right on the spot. There isn't any sentiment among insects." A sentimental "pink slip" from GM does seem preferable, of course, to being "executed right on the spot."

"The queen might be compared to the president of the corporation." Well, if General Motors says so. But according to Maeterlinck, an authority on the bee world, the queen "issues no order." And while the workers regard her as "indispensable," they also regard her as "somewhat unconscious, and often of feeble mind."

Another authority, Frank C. Pellett, says the very name "queen" is misleading "for there is nothing to indicate that she has anything to do with the government of the colony. In fact, the very opposite is true, for the worker bees are very solicitous concerning her and often oppose her will and restrain her actions."

But getting back to General Motors' "startling similarity" between a beehive and a GM plant: There's the "off season" — that time of year when the necessary materials for production are not available. "Bees produce about three months each year. What was to be done with them in the off season?"

There are two alternatives: Take all the honey from the combs and let the bees die, or leave enough to keep them alive until more raw materials are available. This problem is "much simpler than that faced by other businesses."

Mr. Camp generously chose to let his "employees" live. Keeping profits in mind, he left just enough honey for the bees to barely survive. And then, like relief for the unemployed, he "bought them a little extra sugar from time to time" to make sure he hadn't misjudged — a precaution that was certainly called for, looking at it from the bees' point of view, since the whole hive could have lived in luxury all winter — without punching a time clock once — if they hadn't been robbed of their produce.

"But even so, his share . . . wasn't all profit," according to General Motors. "He had to plow back part of his profits in the form of tools and equipment." In addition, he had the problem of "sale and distribution." Fortunately, "he sells about one ton of honey each year, and he's learned a lot from his bees," which brings us to the edifying moral hidden in the honeyed words of the pamphlet.

Bees, we learn, "lead a pretty sensible life" and "seem to be born with the knowledge that they work best if they work together, from the queen, through the board of directors, on down the line." And just in case you're somewhat slow and still don't get the moral of it all, General Motors spells it out. This, we are told, is an "example of working together in harmony" that "man might well follow."

Perhaps bees do lead a "sensible life" that we should emulate. But the scientific books I checked, didn't once mention that bees had any "board of directors" or had any use for one — or stockholders either for that matter. But all the books stress how their common activity seems almost planned, what a high standard of living they enjoy, and the nine months of leisure amidst abundance each year that is theirs, unless of course they fall into the hands of some sharp "capitalist" like Mr. Camp.

"The hive has often been pointed out as the ideal of socialistic endeavor where the individual brings the fruit of all her labor to a common storehouse and in turn takes enough to fill her needs," says Pellett. "Such government as prevails . . . is by common consent . . . with no individual direction."

GM didn't mention that. They counted on their readers getting stung with the idea that capitalism is approved and practiced by the bees and that, like the relations in a beehive, all should be sweetness and harmony between management and workers in a GM plant.

But I found a different moral in GM's fable about the bees. There are no privileged classes in bee society. Everyone does his share for the common good of all; and it works out very well. It's only the Mr. Camps, or other kinds of robbers with a sweet tooth, who threaten the hive with hunger, misery and disaster.

And I found another moral in checking on the facts about the profit-honey GM extracts from its own hives — the speed-up is a bitter pill for GM workers to swallow. It's understandable why management wants the pill coated with honey. You certainly can learn from insects, including the propaganda department of America's biggest industrial corporation.

$18,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
PHILADELPHIA	$ 400	$ 493	123
AKRON	150	175	117
CHICAGO	1,500	1,700	113
BUFFALO	1,500	1,546	103
MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL	1,200	1,237	103
ST. LOUIS	75	77	103
CLEVELAND	350	352	101
BOSTON	550	550	100
LOS ANGELES	2,500	2,500	100
NEWARK	500	500	100
PITTSBURGH	30	30	100
SEATTLE	450	450	100
Milwaukee	400	385	96
Flint	250	230	92
Youngstown	450	371	82
New York	4,500	3,487	77
Allentown	60	45	75
San Francisco	1,000	673	67
Oakland	250	137	55
Detroit	1,500	603	40
General	385	219	57
Total through Oct. 7	$18,000	$15,760	88

East Germans Resist Stalinist "New Course"

(Continued from page 1)

rights of the citizens of our Republic are, however, not adequately used (!) in order to bring the state and administrative apparatus still closer (!) to the population; they are not used to release the initiative of the population for improving the work of the state organs." He stresses: "Strict observance of democratic law are vital components of the policy of the new course."

Pieck's proposals for overcoming the isolation of the bureaucratic caste from the workers sound like a rapist proposing love and affection to his victim. The most it is possible to get is sullen submission, in this case the most temporary kind of submission, preparatory to a new upsurge when another opportunity presents itself.

VIOLATE RIGHT TO STRIKE

How can there be talk of "strict observance of democratic law" when the right to strike, guaranteed by the East German constitution, is violated by the regime? Strikers, despite the first panicky promises to the contrary, were jailed by the tens of thousands; some were shot; others were driven out of East Germany; and thousands were fired, left to starve, or hounded by the police. After all this the Stalinists write newspaper articles — read by the East German workers! — containing pious declarations about the defense of civil liberties. **This is not merely bureaucratic stupidity — it is a sign of hopeless estrangement from the workers.**

Pieck says: "What is most gratifying is that in many enterprises, socialist emulation, based on voluntary production pledges, is becoming more and more widespread." This is the identical lie peddled by the Stalinists just before June 16. The workers threw that lie back into the teeth of the Stalinists with their general strike. The Stalinists know it's a lie, but so deeply rooted is the system of bureaucratic falsification, so basic is it to their method of rule that they recklessly continue to rub salt in the wounds of the workers. Not only do the workers have to cope with despotic speed-up decrees, they also must suffer being told how enthusiastic they are. All this is not exactly conducive to reconciliation between the workers and the bureaucrats.

It is this relation between the despotic bureaucracy and the workers which prevents the new course from being anything more than a gesture. Every real concession the workers won was bought with blood and struggle. The workers know this and they have no confidence in bureaucratic promises to better their lot. As victims of the Stalinist old course they cannot see any basic difference in the new course. And they are right.

WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?

How then will East Germany solve its economic problems? A higher standard of living undoubtedly must be based on higher productivity. But the bureaucratic methods of achieving higher productivity lead to fierce resistance from the workers. Is the bureaucrat then the conscious representative of the socialist interests of the country and the worker a misled, atomized, complainer about his individual conditions? This is the picture the gentlemen of **Monthly Review**, an "independent" Stalinist publication, would have us believe.

No. The mass political revolution launched in East Germany demonstrates how the workers and not the bureaucrats are the representatives of the socialist future of Germany. The road to higher productivity and a better life passes through the workers struggle for democracy in the shop, the industry, the union and the nation. Once the fetters of bureaucratic mismanagement are torn off, the enormous power of socialist methods of production will be come manifest.

The dynamic equilibrium between the various sectors of production will be established by the activity of the workers democratically organized. From the factory level to the summits of the planning commissions the corrective of workers representation and control will be in operation.

This is the only progressive road the revolution can take and the East German workers are taking it.

Lay-Offs, T-H Threat Show Need For Labor Party

(Continued from page 1)

Taft-Hartley. Wasn't it passed in 1947 with a majority of Democratic votes cast in its favor? Didn't Truman promise in 1948, when he needed labor's votes, to secure full repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and didn't he renege within a month of his election and propose merely its amendment? And then didn't four years go by without his own Democratic-controlled Congress or himself doing anything even to amend the Act to make it slightly less savage against labor?

As for depression, Truman in 1949 took no different attitude toward the five million unemployed then than the Republicans take now to the threatened mass unemployment. Truman actually stated: **"A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing that job-seeking should go on at all times: this is healthy for the economic body."** What saved this country from sliding into a full-scale depression was only Truman's unconstitutional act of plunging this country into the Korean War, with its train of armaments spending, credit inflation, government debt and high prices.

In short, labor's support for either capitalist party or any of their candidates will lead to more of the very evils we want to combat — depression, war, Taft-Hartleyism.

It is absolutely true that labor can fight these evils successfully only by political action and the start must be made in '54. But it must be a new kind of political action — against all the capitalist parties and for labor's own party. A Labor Party for '54 is the slogan that must be raised to rally the workers and provide them with a effective political weapon to fight depression and Taft-Hartleyism.

A Labor Party based on the trade unions with their 17 million members, offering a clean break from the old corrupt graft-ridden capitalist parties of Big Business, would inspire tens of millions of people. Overnight it could become the political voice of the American people. Real labor power in Washington would then open the way to a fundamental solution of the terrible problems of depression and war.

Eisenhower Uses T-H Club To Break Longshore Strike

(Continued from page 1)

the strike itself was completely legitimate and justified. The response of the dock workers in all struck ports indicated their solid support for the walkout. They are ready to fight for the slim demands put forward by Ryan's ILA and a lot more.

The AFL drive to take over the dock workers is headed by leaders with none too savory reputations. Dave Beck, head of the Teamsters, is notorious for his raiding operations against other unions, including a dozen or more AFL bodies. He has been known on more than one occasion to order teamsters through picket-lines and engage in other odorous practices. Paul Hall, leader of the Seafarers International Union in the New York area, long played ball with Ryan. He only recently discovered the advantages of joining in the attacks on Ryan, particularly as these might help to increase Hall's own ambitious drive for power on the waterfront.

Beck and Hall did not dare, however, attempt to interfere directly with the strike or order their followers to go through the picket lines. The initial drive to take over the ILA in the New York-New Jersey area had little success so far and the AFL committee claims to have won over a majority in only five of the smaller ILA locals out of the 71 locals in the port of New York.

"PIE IN THE SKY"

The AFL has promised the dock workers "pie in the sky" to come into the AFL's competing union. But Beck and Hall are relying not on a program to win higher wages and better conditions for the workers but on an alliance with the enemies of unionism. They have been openly collaborating with Gov. Dewey, and city and federal officials who have attacked the strike and called on the shipowners and stevedore companies not to grant the ILA demands.

Beck and Hall have also offered cooperation to the recently appointed two-state Port Commission set up under federal law to impose state-controlled hiring halls, compulsory registration of dock workers with the aim of setting up an anti-union blacklist and other measures to regiment the longshoremen and prevent them from fighting for their rights and decent conditions.

The longshoremen have the enormously difficult task of breaking through the swamp of enemies that are trying to keep them down and exploit them, including the capitalist politicians and government agencies, the employers, the gangsters and the union bureaucrats — both those now on their backs and those who want to climb onto their backs like Beck and Hall. The dock workers can achieve a decent, fighting, democratic union only by kicking out all the bureaucrats and taking charge of their union affairs themselves.

A special board of review cleared the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches of "subversive" action Sept. 30. The reviewing committee found no evidence that the Council had been founded by persons who "thought our system of government was outmoded."

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on
The Soviet Union Under Malenkov

Speaker:
John G. Wright

Friday, Oct. 16, at 8:30 at 52 Market Street

PHILADELPHIA
Fri. Night Forum

presents a talk on
"The Case of the Nine"
The prosecution of the nine Communist Party members. New precedents in the witch hunt.

Fri., Oct. 16, 8:30 P.M.
Militant Labor Hall
1303 West Girard Avenue

Questions, Discussion — Admission Free —

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVII — MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1953 — NUMBER 41

The Negro Struggle

A Fighting Southerner

By Jean Blake

One of the best fighting speeches this writer has heard in years was delivered at the recent opening meeting of the Cleveland NAACP by Rev. James M. Hinton of Columbia, S.C.

The plucky speaker just rolled up his sleeves and tore into every supporter of segregation. He roughed up the Negro Uncle Toms — North and South — who accord special respect and consideration to whites who occasionally visit their churches, and took on President Eisenhower for his appointment of Gov. Byrnes of South Carolina as alternate delegate to the United Nations.

In fact, Rev. Hinton is the first man — other than revolutionary socialists — that this writer has heard suggest it is time for Eisenhower to be replaced. And the response of his audience of 600 persons was applause.

Rev. Hinton has been president of the South Carolina Conference of Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for 13 years. He was kidnapped by the Ku Klux Klan in 1949 in an attempt to intimidate him against continuing his fight to gain admission for Negroes to a South Carolina college.

Today he is the leader of the famous South Carolina case now pending in the Supreme Court, challenging the legality of the whole southern segregated school structure.

Far from being stopped by the Klan, he is taking on Gov. Byrnes, who threatened, along with Talmadge of Georgia, to abolish the public school system if segregated schools are outlawed.

He called Byrnes "a demagogue of the rankest nature" who is "flouting democracy in the face of 45% of the population of South Carolina."

He added that if the president knew of these things — and he assumed he did since he knows how to read — and appointed Byrnes anyway, " then President Eisenhower is all wet."

The fighting southerner even attacked his Cleveland audience for not conducting a more consistent and principled struggle against segregation in the North.

He exposed a scandalous local situation, charging Cleveland doctors and nurses are supporting, approving or condoning a project for a Negro hospital, and condemned them roundly for it.

The only praise he handed out was to the courageous group of South Carolina families pressing the anti-segregation suits and remaining firm and united in the struggle despite one murder, destruction and loss of homes, loss of jobs and other victimizations.

It was a good job of tearing down, Rev. Hinton. It's necessary to tear down the rubbish that blocks the building of a strong, principled, uncompromising movement for militant struggle against Jim Crow in every form.

Art Model's "Loyalty"

By Dave Dreiser

In its usual airily flippant style, the **Daily News**, Los Angeles' "Liberal" newspaper, reported the case of a new victim of the witch hunt.

Young Janet Gray in 1951 earned three dollars at 75c an hour doing some modeling for an art class in a Pasadena public school. She has never been paid, because she has not signed a loyalty oath required of all school employees. Her attitude on the oath is not known, because she did not sign. Being only three years old, she can't write.

School officials told her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Gray, that on behalf of their daughter they could swear that:

"Within the five years immediately preceding the taking of this oath I have not been a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means."

Mrs. Gray's comment on reading that section was, "Ridiculous. How can I sign this part for a 3-year-old?"

To their everlasting credit the Grays refused to sign, and the Pasadena schools are in the position of refusing to pay for services they have already received and which they solicited.

In a way this is the final word, the logical end result of the loyalty oath.

The **Daily News** may treat the matter as a joke, but the laugh is hollow. Janet Gray's case is no slip-up, any more than is the case of James Kutcher, the veteran who lost both legs in World War II, was decorated with the Purple Heart and then fired from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration because he believed in socialism.

McCarthy and Company want conformity without exception, and if any three-year-old thinks she can go around modeling for children's art classes without establishing her loyalty, they are out to teach her differently.

Let some one now say, "The witch hunt can't touch me; my loyalty would never be questioned." Everyone's loyalty is in question; everyone must stand and be counted.

One would have to look far to find a parallel to this case. It is easy to remember the anti-Nazi cartoons of the thirties depicting German babies almost covered with war helmets they were wearing and weighted down with arms, but those were cartoons; this is the real article.

The whole purpose of the drive against freedom of thought and expression in the schools is to ensure in advance the dumb, automatic conformity of youth to capitalism. But we can anticipate that the youth who face an insecure, militarized life will have something emphatic to say before long about this decaying system.

Little Janet Gray will have a chance to see a new, socialist society of peace and freedom, where little children won't have to live in the shadow of fear and youth can grow up under the inspiration of building a new world.

Notes from the News

ANTHONY RAMUGLIA, 56, director of education and research for the California CIO and a former revolutionary socialist, died of a heart attack on Sept. 23 while attending a school for CIO members. In his youth he was a pants presser in a Boston, Mass., clothing factory. He became an official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and a militant strike leader. He joined the Communist Party, broke with it in the early thirties and helped found the American Workers Party, which in 1934 fused with the Communist League of America (Trotskyist) to form what eventually became the Socialist Workers Party. In 1933 he was founding President of the National Unemployed League and led many heroic battles for unemployed relief and jobs. In later years, he drifted away from the radical movement and became a routine union official.

* * *

A MAJOR BLUNDER was committed last December by the United Nations, in the opinion of the International Chamber of Commerce. Despite the opposition of the U.S. delegation a resolution was passed upholding the right of all nations to expropriate any property within their borders whether or not it belonged to their own nationals. The resolution failed to say anything about paying for seized property or establishing procedures for determining what constitutes a "fair price" for seized properties. Pressure will now be put on the UN for correction of this "oversight."

* * *

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE are overwhelmingly opposed to the idea of sending U.S. soldiers to take part in the fighting in Indochina, according to a September survey taken by the American Institute of Public Opinion. Only 8% favored the proposition while 85% were opposed.

* * *

A WORLD PENAL CODE to outlaw "unjust war" is proposed by Pope Pius XII. The code would also punish excessive cruelty even in "just" wars. A practical means for enforcing such world law was not included in the proposal.

* * *

"RIGHT TO WORK" BILLS are now in force in 14 States. These bills are aimed at the heart of union security — the union shop. The **Los Angeles Times**, favorite newspaper of the L. A. Merchants and Manufacturers Association says, "This movement (to pass union-busting 'Right to Work' bills) is particularly important at this time, since on the program of the national labor organizations seeking amendments to the Taft-Hartley act is one change which would make the national statute paramount over any state enactments. The T-H act, as it stands, directs the National Labor Relations Board to respect the right-to-work statutes of states without regard to the union shop provisions of the national law." The **LA Times** is tipping off the capitalists on how to make a sneak play through the state legislatures to circumvent any changes for the better that labor may win in the reactionary federal labor legislation.

* * *

THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF CRIME are graphically illustrated by the FBI's figures on major crimes committed in the first half of 1953. Out of 1,047,290 crimes committed in this period, 64.2% were of an economic character; robbery burglary, larceny, theft and auto theft. The remaining 5.8% of the crimes included murder, rape, negligent manslaughter and assault. In these categories many if not most of the crimes are also economic in origin.

* * *

THE IRON CURTAIN IS MADE WITH AMERICAN ORE, as well as Russian, it seems. According to an editorial in the **N. Y. Times**, Sept. 24, "for many months scholars, educational institutions, libraries and individuals with completely legitimate (!) interest in books, magazines and other printed matter originating behind the Iron Curtain have found that delivery of such publications was slow, erratic or nonexistent." Censorship of incoming mail has reached such a ludicrous point that "in at least one instance some scientific journals needed for a governmentally sponsored survey have been withheld from delivery, presumably on the grounds that they contained — or might contain — Communist propaganda."

* * *

WHEN MARIAN ANDERSON, who possesses what is probably the world's greatest contralto voice, gets Jim Crowed, you can imagine what happens to other people who are just plain, ordinary human beings. Baltimore's Lyric Theater was asked for any of four dates in January for a benefit concert by Miss Anderson. The attorney for the theater, Robert E. Lee Marshall, refused the request, saying, "It was clear the booking was demanded for the purpose of making a racial issue. We wouldn't make a booking with anyone who is involved in any controversy." Such an argument would exclude the president of the United States, wouldn't it?

Vote the Socialist Workers Party Ticket In the November 3 New York City Election

Our Candidates

For Mayor

DAVID L. WEISS

David L. Weiss, 41, grew up on Manhattan's lower east side. An Army veteran of World War II, after the war he went into the merchant marine. He is now an electrical worker and a staff writer for the **Militant**. His education included attendance at New York University.

He is a veteran socialist leader, lecturer and educator and has served as a trade union organizer. When only 17 he was jailed in Brooklyn for collecting money to aid striking miners and was denounced in court by Magistrate Sabbatino who threatened to "blacken" his eyes for his socialist views.

For Council Pres.

CATHERINE GRATTA

Catherine Gratta, 31, was born and reared in Brooklyn. Daughter of Italian working-class immigrants, she has been an active socialist since her late 'teens. She organized the Civil Rights Defense Club on Brooklyn College campus for the defense of 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders railroaded to prison during World War II. Since graduating from Brooklyn College in 1943, she has been active in CIO and AFL unions. For 10 years a machine operator and inspector, she was formerly a shop steward in UE and secretary of CIO Rubber Workers Local 297. She is now organizer of the Brooklyn SWP branch.

For Comptroller

JOYCE COWLEY

Joyce Cowley has had twenty-one years experience as an active trade unionist and socialist.

A working mother, she is known to readers of the **Militant** for her understanding articles on the problems of women and children under capitalism. She has also lectured on this subject to labor audiences in New York, Newark and Philadelphia.

In contrast to the financial experts of the capitalist parties, including one named Chase Mellon, Mrs. Cowley approaches all the fiscal and financial problems of New York City from the point of view of the needs of the city's working millions.

By Harry Ring

"You bet your money and you take your choice. And don't forget: There's a winner every time!" These tested old carnival spiels are being worked to a fare-thee-well in the New York mayoralty race by the front men for the political machines.

Riegelman, Impellitteri, Wagner, Halley — give them all a once-over, try to figure out which is the least crooked of the bunch, try to figure out which will give you the least dirty deal, and on Nov. 3 plunk your vote down for him — after all, that's the only "practical" choice you have. This is the essence of the "free advice" being ground out for the working men and women of this city by the propaganda mills of the capitalist-dominated parties.

But this advice is a swindle from start to finish. Working people don't have to make this kind of phoney choice in the elections. They have the opportunity to make a real choice, the opportunity to vote for a ticket that expresses their own needs and interests and not somebody else's — and they can do this by supporting the candidates and platform of the Socialist Workers Party.

While all the other candidates have been shouting, as they do in every election, about "cleaning up the mess," and doing "everything" for "everybody," the Socialist Workers candidates have been hitting hard at the vital issues the working people of this city have to live with. No shell games, no dancing girls, but the unvarnished facts of life about the subway steal, the rent gouge, high taxes, the failure to build homes, schools, hospitals — these are some of the issues the SWP candidates are taking up in the clear, socialist way.

WAR OR PEACE

While the boss politicians pour on the hokum about the "best man," the Socialist Workers candidates are speaking out honestly and fearlessly about the biggest question of all — war or peace. This question is linked to all the others in the election.

Homes and hydrogen bombs can't be built with the same money. For the bankers and business tycoons, the armaments race means super profits. For the working people it spells high taxes, high prices, a housing shortage and zooming rents. Above all else, Wall Street's headlong drive towards World War III threatens New York with atomic annihilation.

That's why the Socialist Workers Party has insisted that the issues can't be divided. If you want to make New York a city fit for working people to live in, you have to fight to change the whole set-up, locally and nationally from top to bottom. That means a fight against the capitalist system that breeds war and all the other evils such as Jim Crow that make life a hardship for the working people. **It means fighting for socialism, the scientifically planned economy that can assure overwhelming abundance and good living as well as enduring peace.**

What are the alternatives to a labor administration in City Hall? At the Republican tent they're offering Riegelman, a staunch Eisenhower man. If he gets in, it means a healthy dose of the same bitter medicine we're getting nationally. The prescription reads: "Help the rich and soak the poor. Lay on the taxes. Don't do anything about prices or rents. Step up the drive against the labor movement."

Take a walk down the runway and note the performance being put on by Impellitteri and Wagner. The routine is perhaps smoother than Riegelman's but neither of them can talk away the fact that in office the performance of the Democrats in behalf of the workers adds up the same as the Republicans.

Wagner is doing some fast talking about his "liberal" victory in the Democratic primaries being a defeat for the "machine." But he's stuck with the fact that his victory was won for him by Tammany Hall under the nominal leadership of Carmine DeSapio and the real boss of the notorious Thomas (Three Fingers Brown) Luchese.

SHAMEFUL ACTION

The support given to Wagner by the reactionary, anti-labor Tammany gang makes all the more shameful the action of the City CIO Council in endorsing him. **It's high time that the rank and file of the CIO informed their "leaders" that they have had enough of being sold down the river in support of capitalist politicians. They need an effective political instrument of their own, an independent Labor Party.**

Almost pathetic, if it were not so revolting, is the frantic effort of the Stalinists of the Communist Party in this connection to ride the coat tails of the CIO bureaucrats in support of Wagner and at the same time affirm their loyalty to the American Labor Party.

The Liberal Party, supported by some of the strongest unions in the city, entered the campaign looking like a real promise; but the fresh perspective turned out to be a false mirage. Ducking all the issues that are basic for the working people, they are attempting to compete with Wagner on a "platform" that can't be distinguished from his with a magnifying glass. To top things off, they're stuck with Halley, an "independent" candidate, who just won't stop shouting that he's a regular Democrat with no obligation at all to the party that happens to be offering him to the public.

All of these candidates turn out under inspection to be high-powered, shell-game operators. They can't be beaten at their own game. With their crooked set up, there's a winner every time, but the winner is always the Wall Street crowd, and never the workers. The only thing that can really beat them is a fighting socialist program, the program of the Socialist Workers Party.

BOSS CANDIDATES DUCK COP BRUTALITY ISSUE

By Tom Denver

It is no accident that the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are the only ones who see the problems of the Negro and Puerto Rican people as a major issue in the New York elections. As representatives of the working class they stand on a continuous tradition of struggle against all forms of discrimination.

It is the other way around with the other candidates. As hirelings of the capitalist race haters, they must hide or distort crimes committed against Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

A glaring example of this is the omission of police brutality in their "clean up the city" campaign promises.

Over the year, the **Militant** has recounted case after case of police terror directed against the working people, especially the Negroes and Puerto Ricans, of New York.

"John Derrick, Negro veteran, celebrating his discharge from the army, killed by police."

"Herman Newton, Negro, killed by New York police. Department exonerates the killer cops."

"John Harvey Brown, Negro, beaten by cops and paralyzed for the rest of his life."

These and dozens of similar cases strike a familiar chord in the minds of the Negro and Puerto Rican people. Time and again they have risen in mass protest only to fall back before stalled and unfulfilled promises of the Democratic and Republican politicians.

The only way to get the killer-cops out of the precincts and put them behind bars is by electing to office candidates out of the ranks of labor.

A vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will mark a real step forward in the struggle to strip the capitalist race haters of their power to use the police force to terrorize minority peoples.

The Truth About The Subway Steal In New York City

The few-and-far-between pay rises doled out to New York City transit workers have been ballyhooed by the boss politicians as the sole reason for jacking up subway fares from five to 15 cents.

What they hide from the public is the fact that the city is still paying interest on the original loan that was used to buy back the franchise on the city's subways after private operators cleaned up big fortunes and the badly deteriorated rolling stock needed replacement.

Each year the city turns over to a group of Wall Street sharks the "normal" payment of $72,800,000 in interest. For the year 1953-54, interest will reach $114,900,000. These enormous sums are nothing but tribute to the big money interests.

This raw deal was made possible by putting Wall Street machine politicians in City Hall. La Guardia agreed to the annual tribute of interest payments; O'Dwyer and Impellitteri first doubled, then tripled the five-cent fare.

Instead of declaring a moratorium on the debt and thus stalling off the interest leeches, Wall Street's politicians put the squeeze on the public. Then they added insult to injury by attributing the high operating costs to the increased wages of the transit workers whose take-home pay is no better than average.

DIDN'T CONSULT PEOPLE

The corrupt O'Dwyer administration — run by the same Democratic Party that Wagner, Halley and Impellitteri all pledge allegiance to — paved the way for increased fares in 1948 by repealing the law which required consent of the people. Impellitteri, following in O'Dwyer's footsteps, likewise boosted the turnstile fee without consulting the people. If representatives of Big Business remain in office, we can look forward to further increases. And you can be sure it will be done without asking permission from the voters.

The only way the riding public can keep the greedy fingers of Big Business away from their purse strings is by electing a labor administration. To roll back subway fares, put Labor in City Hall.

The first rate-increase ever granted Bell Telephone without an FCC hearing is the new long-distance 8% boost which will net the trust a cool $65,000,000 a year extra profit.

200,000 NEW YORK FAMILIES SEEK ESCAPE FROM FIRETRAPS

By Joyce Cowley

Recently a King's County N. Y. Grand Jury charged state and city officials with responsibility for inadequate enforcement of housing laws and failing to take steps to remedy "worsening" conditions in sub-standard and slum areas. The legislature was criticised for its "deplorable indifference to the public weal."

This Grand Jury started its investigation after a Bedford-Stuyvesant fire in which seven people died. They made a test survey in the same section and found 12,446 violations in 336 buildings. They found families of six or seven crowded into a single rat-infested room, eating and sleeping in shifts.

200,000 New York families, desperately looking for an escape from miserable firetraps, have applied for low-rent housing that doesn't exist. There's no prospect that it will be built. It would take 130,000 new units a year for the next ten years to provide adequate housing!

Why can't a working man find a decent place to live in the world's richest city? "Private developers" are not interested in low-cost housing. There's a lot more money to be made by cutting up a 5-room apartment, throwing in a few pieces of old furniture and renting it to four families at $60 each.

The Committee on Slum Clearance, headed by Moses, is really interested in cleaning up "blighted" areas. I live in one, and it's scheduled to come down. A middle-income project is planned at $30 a room. A privately operated development is planned and will rent at approximately $48 a room.

City funds will be used to help acquire this property, since it's apparently tough for private real estate interests to put up a decent place and make a profit on apartments that rent for $200 or more.

While 30,000 New York families live illegally in cellars and hundreds of thousands of New York children grow up in dark, filthy, dangerous tenements, city funds are being used to acquire property for apartments at $48 a room! This is a good indication of how much city officials really care about the working men and women of New York. They know who put them in office and whose interests they've got to serve.

Our Program

1. Stop the war drive of Big Business. Take the war-making power away from Congress; let the people vote on war.

2. Build hospitals and schools -- not atom and H-bombs. For a full-scale health insurance program that will provide complete medical care to every worker's family in New York.

3. Tax the greedy — not the needy. Repeal the sales tax. Raise the tax on big real estate and tax the sales of stocks and bonds.

4. Stop the witch hunt. Drive "thought control" out of the schools. Repeal the Feinberg Law. Defend the municipal service workers and school teachers from McCarthyite attack.

5. More child care centers for the children of working mothers. Free nursery care for the children of working women.

6. Back to the nickel subway fare. End robbery at the turnstiles.

7. Bring the killer-cops to justice. End police brutality. Prosecute to the full extent of the law every cop or official responsible for the race-hating terror campaign of the police.

8. Eliminate all discrimination and segregation. For a city fair-employment practice ordinance enforced by committees of the trade unions, Negro and Puerto Rican people.

9. For an independent labor party to fight Taft-Hartleyism, McCarthyism, the cost-of-living boosters and the warmongers.

10. For a Workers and Farmers government. For a socialist society of peace and plenty. Against capitalist war and depression.

Vote Socialist on November 3! David L. Weiss for Mayor; Catherine Gratta for President of the City Council; Joyce Cowley for City Comptroller.